/87 cont./
291 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[174] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of
black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders
with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B
/see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching
the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
291 tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
531 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste
of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls
are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this
region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the
simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).

286 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro
women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present
any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is,
unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans,
[614] a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titikana, Konko,
Kama, and Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities:
[816] anan-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ačai
and xanača. These may be translated by their Aymara equiva-
lent: "section above" and "section below." Authority at
622 Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as
the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is
derived from the word which designates this ornament (xoraturčirčki:
693 "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (čauk čapsti)
who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).

771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I
could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of
paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

/121/

621 616 [71] Aymara and Kičua /Quechua/ communities recalls the nonexogamous moieties /in English/ or phratries of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two [223] [293] practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

621 616 578 [573] An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-making. Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common [123] that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

621 616 [192] [195] When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about 621 616 614 their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

Carangas—
Chipaya

/121 cont./

621 616 619 not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accepting this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality [368] is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

342 343 Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The detailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter. Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 30 /). In places the huts are 361 grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long, [363] more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corresponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row of houses faces a different street.

351 The huts belonging to a single household or to the same family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts [171] so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this [176] manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

/339 cont./

*[178] wood and come from the forests of eastern Bolivia. The Indians call them by the half-Aymara, half-Spanish word kamana-para, [171] "house stick." I never saw one in the Aymara huts where I stayed.

Sanctuaries, chapels, and oratories. The Čipaya celebrate their festivals at the foot of the sacred cones of earth, or mal'ku, near the samiris' cellar or in the chapels and the village church. I have already mentioned above the location of the mal'ku in relation to the village, and I have given a complete description of *[178] them. Hence note must be taken here only of the edifices of a 346 mixed character, i.e., those which are used simultaneously for observances of Christian and pagan worship.

The church falls into this last category. Its belfry is a divinity common to the entire tribe, as the church is situated in the middle of the neutral ground which separates the two saya. Its interior is miserable and does not differ at all from the rural churches in the rest of Bolivia, unless in its poverty. On the altar are a few images [182] made of pasteboard, which receive blood sacrifices, offerings of [176] coca, and libations of alcohol and chicha. Exactly as in other Bolivian churches, one finds in this one an unusual number of boxes containing the image of Saint James on his horse, a saint whom the Indians hold in particular veneration and to whom they have given all the attributes and functions of the ancient god of thunder. One sees there also innumerable small terra-cotta bowls, full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns; these little lamps take the place of candles and are given by the faithful.

•[614] Each clan has in addition its chapel, built on the same plan as the church but smaller. The interior decoration is almost the same but even more wretched. In front of the chapel a small enclosure is used for gatherings of the faithful when they assemble to drink or feast together in homage to some Christian or pagan divinity. From the Tuanta chapel a line of chapels and little square edifices, which for want of a better word I shall call oratories or altars, extends in a straight line toward the east, or more precisely toward the southeast. These are small cubes of earth topped with a niche

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*piri*) and *balsa* (Jkwsi), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *sikw* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *peks* (Aymará *pusi'ia*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *p'os*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the *yungas*. The *sikw* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusi'ia* or *peks* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *kesona*, for carpets in "cholo" huts). These are exchanged for *čuñu*, *coca*, net-thread, *kañawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*kesona* and *čuwara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organisation is unfortunately very inexplicit. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: [illegible], T.P.cana, Konko, Kama, Kuipa.